

422

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(R. A. H. BULL 148)

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or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset. *Woman wear a gray perineal band.*

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, top; 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The Bororo spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, left; 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

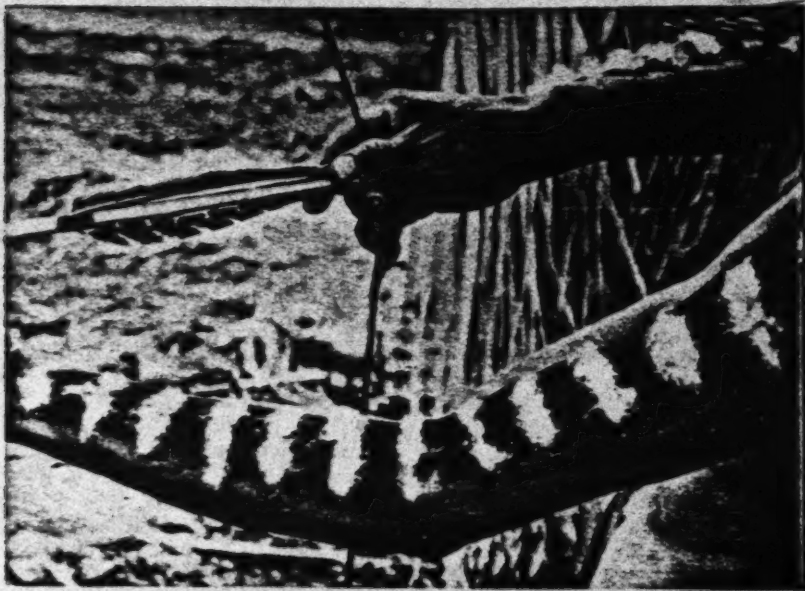
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Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

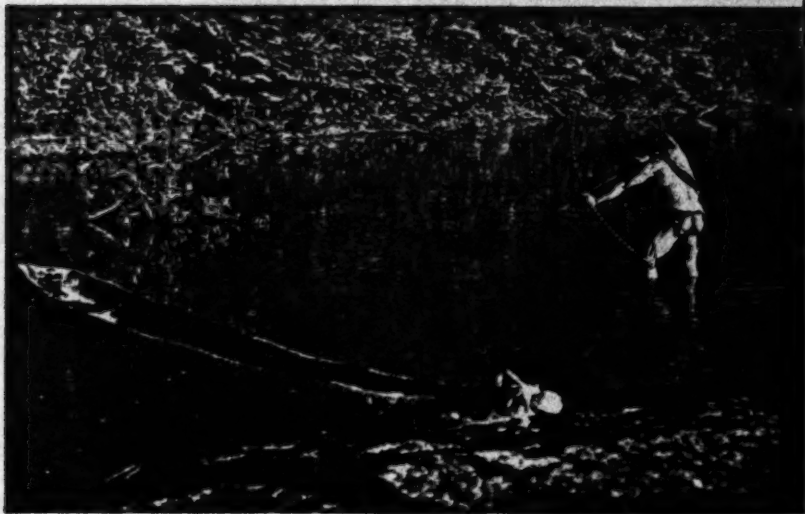
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The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. [286] True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, a, b).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



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PLATE 26.—Bororo gallery. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kojon. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)
Bottom: São Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

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3: Petrullo E-5 (1931) 1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Mato Grosso SP1

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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO SHOOTING FISH

[P. 102]

[Plate IV]

⁴¹¹
[501] Ika is also the name for two
[415] other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The
[224] bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray),
[791] which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunt-
[562] ing, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and
put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the repre-
sentative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears
a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents
a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears
a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and
hanging over his chest.

772 Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big
and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just
a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo clas-
sify the universe. The common denominator of many of these
oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between
culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in
many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies
which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we
have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget
that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two broth-
ers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

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[593] The relationships between father and son, husband and
[613] wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal
[616] and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife
should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties
which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

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SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

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When holes have been made in bits of roughly shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the fiber of the palm is made into cord.

283 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

411 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "pardnko"—I do not know.

551 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

582 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

Brazil.

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [41] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Mão Páro village, the river Pogübu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacü* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

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151 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the
825 insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing
[824] them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men
[825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the *saüba* ants.

[501] Early in the day, all the men of the village went up
[824] the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or
[616] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, brought the material down the river on rude floats made of bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Sheraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda*.

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommelled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 But primitive men must do things decently and in order
616 as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

/482 cont. /

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laughing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

[482] 482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

● 501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ika -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the